

## Weekly National Intelligencer.

WASHINGTON: THURSDAY, AUGUST 25, 1864.

Weekly National Intelligencer.

ne viste lige march our accepted a ne-

BY GALES & SEATON.

JAMES C. WELLING, ASSOCIATE EDITOR. The subscription price of this paper for a year is Two DOLLARS, payable in advance.

A reduction of 20 percent. (one-fifth of the full charge will be made to any one who shall order and pay for, at one time, ten copies of the Weekly paper; and a reduction of 25 per cent. (or one-fourth of the full charge) to any one who willorder and pay for, at one time, twenty er more

No accounts being kept for this paper, it will not be sent to any one unless paid for in advance, nor any longer than the time for which it is paid.

"THURSDAY, AUGUST 25, 1864.

THE PRESIDENT'S MANIFESTO INTERPRETED.

In our paper of the 15th instant, referring to some animadversions made by the New York Times on the recent manifesto of Messrs. WADE and DAVIS. whom that journal represents to have "led the van in the blind race of radic-lism and barbarism," we expressed the opinion that the President, howstands abreast with the most advanced "radicalism" in at least one respect, seeing that he will not even receive or consider any proposition looking to peace or Union unless it be accompanied with "the abandonment of slavery." And as the Times had rebuked Messrs. Wade and Davis, as men who would rather concede "the independence of the Slave States than consent to their resump: | will receive "any proposition;" and if he did not tion of their place in the Union, and the renewed enjoyment of their rights under the Federal Constitution," we intimated that if the President had expressed no opinion upon this comparative view slavery, or to both, we have only to say that the of the matter, he had none the less made it impossible, by the requisition he includes among his terms and conditions of peace, for the Southern States "to resume their place in the Union." or to enter on "the renewed enjoyment of their rights under the Federal Constitution." To which we

"If, therefore, there be any thing exceptionable in the policy of Messrs. Wade and Davis under this head, the remarks of the Times are equally applicable to the policy of Mr. Lincoln, for so far forth the policy of the latter is identical with the policy of the former. If it be a source of just reproach to Messrs. Wade and Davis, as the Times considers it that they have made and the policy of the latter is the considers. nonsiders it, that 'they have sustained the war not as a neans of restoring the Union, but to free the slaves,' wha and consider no proposition embracing peace and the in-tegrity of the whole Union unless it also embraces 'the abandonment of slave. y?'

After quoting our remarks to this effect in its number of Thursday last, the Times dissents from their justice in the following terms, which we cite at length :

" President Lincoln has never 'refused to receive consider any proposition looking to peace or Union unless accompanied with the abandonment of slavery. He has never 'prescribed' that abandonment as a 'sine qua non' of receiving or considering such propositions. He has never expressed a 'determination' to receive and consider any argustion for press and Union 'press' and Union' press' and Union' press no proposition for peace and Union unicas it also em brac a the abandonment of slavery. We admit that he has used language which encourages and even tempts un scrupulous or unreflecting opponents to bring this charge against him—but the Intelligencer is not a customed struction to words that are used by official persons in im pertact public documents—It writes with precision itself, and it is in the babit of assuming that others do likewise. The Intelligencer need not be told that no man in this country uses language with greater precision than President LINCOLN—He sacrifices every thing to this. He never seeks to write grace ul sentences, to use elegant never seeks to write grace ul sentences, to use elegant language, or to round sonorous periods. He writes always for the simple purpose of saying precuse'y what he means to say—that, and nothing more. What he does not wish to be understood as having either said or means.

Mr. LINCOLN did way that he would receive and co mider propositions for peace, coming with proper authority, if they embraced the integrity of the Union and the abando-ment of slavery. But he did not say that he would not receive them unless they embraced both these He did not say that he would not receive them even if they embraced neither. He was not laying down an ultimatum; he was not preacribing conditions sine qua non at all. He was not called upon to do any thing of the kind. He was not even asked on what co ditions he would receive propositions. No propositions for peace were made or proffered by any body that even professed to have any authority in the premises. He was told that semebody from rebeldom wanted to come to Washington to tak to him about peace. Very well, said he: if they are ready to res ore the Union, and abandon slavery, bring them along. Does the Intelligencer consider that final and conclusive? Do diplomatic conferences usually open with an ultimatum? If these quasi diplomatihad any thought or purpose of negotiating, if there was any wish or desire on their part to treat for peace, they would have objected to the terms thus put forth at the outset, and asked for their modification. Suppose they had replied, 'We cannot agree to abandon slavery; we have no au hority to assent to that requirement; we ask that this be waived and referred 10 the people after peace shall have been concluded; but we can and do assent to a anall have been concluded; but we can and go assent to a restoration of the Union, and as k for a peace conference on that basis; does the Intelligencer believe it would have been refused? The Intelligencer is wise in diplo-matic h story; does it remember what Administration be-

gan by proclaiming, 'fifty four forty or fight,' and ended by accepting something e.s.'
"If Mr. LINCOLN's past history had left any room for doubt as to his position on this point there might be some excuse for the Intelligencer's violent and hostile construction of this phrase in his letter. But such doubt is impo sible. From the beginning to the end, at every stage of the war and of his Administration, the President has take the war and of his Administration, the President has taken appeals pains to proclaim that the war was weged for the preservation of the Union, and that, when this object could be attained, the war would stop. 'What I do about slavery and the colored race,' said he, in his letter of August 22, 1862, to Mr. GREELEY, 'I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. My para-mount object is to save the Union and not either to save or destroy slavery. In his letter to FERNANDO WOOD, De-cember 12, 1862, Mr. Lincoln says that when the people of the Southern States will 'cease resistance, and reinau rate, submit to and maintain the national authority, the his letter to the Springfield Convention, August 26, 1863, his letter to the Springian developer, August 1900, he says: 'Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, It will be an apt time then to deciare you will not fight to

free negroes."

"These declarations are explicit, and might be multi-"These declarations are explicit, and might be multi-plied. They leave no room for doubt as to the object for which the war is waged—nor as to the conditions on which the war will cease. And we submit, with all due defer-ence to the National Intelligencer, that there is nothing in the Nisgara despatch justly, strictly, and fairly interpreted, to warrant the averment that in the President's mind that object or those conditions have changed in the slightest

We should be exceedingly sorry to suppose that any other subject. If it be true, as the Times pose of saying precisely what he means to saycouched as follows :

"EXECUTIVE MANSION Vashington, July 18, 1864.

To whom it may concern: "Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandon ment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can central the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Go verument of the United States, and will be met by liber terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct be ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The Times argues that Mr. Lincoln in saving he would receive and consider any proposition for peace if it embraced "the integrity of the whole Union and the abandonment of slavery," did not mean to say that he would not receive and cousider any proposition unless it embraced both these conditions. He was simply saying what kind of a proposition he was willing to receive and consider without implying that he would not receive and consider a proposition which embraced neither of these terms. It follows, then, according to this exegesis of the President's meaning, that he has not concluded himself against "receiving and considering" a proposition which shall omit to embrace in its terms "the integrity of the whole ever slow he may have been in taking position, now Union;" for, so far as the force of the President's language goes in the manifesto itself, the Times has the same right to infer that he would receive and consider a proposition which should fail to embrace "the integrity of the whole Union" as one which should fail to embrace "the abandonment of slavery." The President places them on a par in enumerating the conditions on which he

> as a writer is much misplaced. But, if there be any ambiguity in the terms of the President's manifesto, the Times argues that Mr. Lincoln's past history has left no room for doubt as to his position on this point. And it cites certain reiterated declarations of the President which are to the effect that the war is waged for the preservation of the Union, and that when this object is attained the war will stop, without regard to the state in which slavery may be left.

> mean to exclude the inference that he would "re-

ceive and consider" a proposition looking to the

dissolution of the Union or to the rehabilitation of

encomium which the Times passes on his perspicuity

The reader may remember that in our number of the 26th of July we cited at greater length than the Times has done the precise declarations to which it refers, for the purpose of placing them in contrast with what we conceived to be the avowal made in the Nisgara manifesto. For so citing not urge men to continue "fighting to free negroes." these declarations we were gravely arraigned in the Morning Chronicle of this city, which then not only understood the President's manifesto as we understand it, but proceeded to show that in the existing state of our affairs Mr. Lincoln could not have properly held any other language. It said in its number of the 29th ultimo:

"The Intelligencer is aware that, as the result of the emane:pation policy and the employment of negroes as soldiers, a very large proportion of the slaves of the South have actually b come free. Would that conservative jour-Have not these results of the declaration of emancipation ande an important change in the circumstances of the case once the Wood and Greeley letters were written, and ever since the Wood and Greetey teters took be trutch, and even since the date of the Springfield letter? Is not the public faith plighted to these black men in the face of the circuized world? And con the Government—congress and the President—recede from its declarations on this subject? So far as the slaves actually made free are concerned, which includes all who have been brought under the jurisdiction of our military authorities, and who have been promise freedom in order to withdraw them from the se their rebel masters, we presume that even the Intelligence will admit that they cannot be re-enslaved with dish nor, it justice, and cruelty. But what would the in stitution of slavery be with these exceptions? Would not be better for all parties to sweep away slavery entirely than to leave the South half free, half slave? Military ne cess ty dictated the proclamation of emancipation, and the employment of negro troops; and the same necessity will ustify the enforcement of that policy The Gove nanot re enslave or allow the re custavement of the ne groes who have become actual'y free under the proclam ion, under the laws of Congress, under the pledges of the commanders of the Union armies, and the decrees of State Conventions in Virginia, in North and S ath Carolina, in Georgia and Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana Teopessee and Arkansas, as well as those slaves in the Border States who have entered the army. And if to al these—amounting perhaps to a mill on—who have been made free by military necessity, we add those who have been of will be ema cipated by the people of Maryland, West Virginia, and Mi-souri, we have an aggregate body of free ne groes on Southern soil, in addition to those who were born free, which would make it next to impossible to restore the institution without sowing the seeds of perpetual strife between the white and black races. This great fact, one of the consequences of the rebellion that had not developed tself when the President wrote the Wood and Greeley letters may now cause him to insist upon the enforcement of th emuncipation laws, proclamations, and pleages.

Here it will be seen that it is not only assumed to be a fact that the President had stipulated a condition when he specified the "abandonment of slavery," as one of the terms on which he would receive any proposition looking to peace and the integrity of the whole Union, but that the propriety of such a condition is vindicated and maintained Nor is it difficult to perceive the ground on which its propriety can be vindicated by those who believe in the policy it contemplates; for every body is aware that the declarations of the President under this head have been ambiguous-we will not say double-tongued-for we charge him with no wilfull duplicity in this matter. It is quite true that in his preliminary proclamation of freedom, on the 22d of September, 1862, he was careful to premise by saying "that hereaf er as heretofore the war precedent rather to be avoided than imitated. will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of THE STATES, and the people thereof, in which States THAT RELA-TION is or may be suspended or disturbed." But it is equally true that in the body of that proclamation he expressly declared that "all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall be in re-

he said : "I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within the said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognise and maintain the freedom of such persons."

It is quite true that in his letter to the Springfield Convention, in the year 1863, the President

"You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you. But no matter; fight you then exclusively to save the Union. I issued the proclemation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if t shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free necroes."

But it is equally true that in that letter he held the following language:

"You dislike the emancipation proclamation, and perhaps you would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think the Constitution invests its Commander in-Chief with the law of war in time of war... But the proclamation, as law, either is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid it needs no retraction. If it is valid it cannot be retracted any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think its can be brought to hie. Some of you process to think its retraction would operate favorably for the Union. Why better after the retraction than before the issue? There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation issued; the last one bundered days of which passed under an explicit notice that it was coming unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance."

Now, it is apparent to every body that the Presi dent could not keep both of these engagements unless he could succeed in making the practical restoration of the Union coincident with the practical treedom of all persons ordered and declared by him to be free. But the President has never openly acknowledged the conclusion to which he was shut up by his declarations on this subject until that acknowledgement was made in the letter patent "to whom it may concern." On the contrary, while confessing that it would be "an astounding breach of faith" not to keep his promise to the blacks of the South, he has allowed it to be understood, at the same time, that "whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it wil le an apt time for you to declare you will not fight to

But, supposing all resistance to the Union should be conquered before all the negroes "ordered and declared" to be free are made practically free, he would, according to his own theory, be compelled to commit what he has himself described as "an astounding breach of faith" to the latter if he should And if he should urge men to continue fighting under such circumstances he would prove that emancipation, not the Union, was the ultimate end and object of the war. Such are the two horns of the dilemma on the one or the other of which the President must be impaled should he accept any terms of peace which do not equally embrace the practical restoration of the Union and the practical freedom of all the slaves whom he ordered and declared to be "now, HENCEFORTH and FOREVER " and whose freedom he pledged himself "to recognise AND MAINTAIN" with all the power of the army and navy of the United States.

Until the appearance of the late manifesto we could not foresee that the President would not at whatever sacrifice of consistency, absolve himself from the promises made to the slaves of the South, if those promises should seem to be in the way of the restoration of the Union. But that manifesto makes it clear to our minds that the President means to follow his policy to its legitimate and logical conclusions, which necessarily contemplate the continuance of the war until he shall coerce the abandonment of slavery" as well as the territorial "integrity of the whole Union." It is only when both these ends concur that he can claim to have kept his engagements. And those who impute to him a willingness to receive and consider propositions looking to a restoration of the Union without providing for the freedom of the slaves whom he pledged to maintain in the freedom with which he theoretically invested them on the 1st of January, 1863, and in the act of doing which he invoked "the considerate judgment of men and the gracious favor of Almighty God," must suspect him of a vacillation and infirmity of purpose little creditable to his character.

No triend of the President must disguise from himself either the nature or the extent of his committals on this subject. They pledge him as much to wage war for the emancipation of slaves as for the restoration of the Union. And if he did not mean to keep his pled e to the slaves-it he expected to make peace on terms which should embrace the emancipation of some, not all, of those whom he ordered and decreed to be then, thenceforward, and forever free-it is enough to say that the pledge should never have been made. The example which the Times cites of an Administration which, in the matter of the Oregon controversy, declared for "fifty-four-forty or fight," and afterwards made peace on the line of the forty-ninth parallel, is suggestive to us of a

We conclude, therefore, that we have not misunderstood the recent manifesto of the President. either in its terms or in its import. Not in its terms, for it is as fair-nay, as necessary-to infer from those terms that the President makes a sine qua non of "the abandonment of slavery" as of the "integrity of the whole Union," and no doubt can be thrown on his adherence to one of these stipulations which does not equally apply to the We should be exceedingly sorry to suppose that part of a State, the people whereat and we had misunderstood, and therefore misrepresent- bellion against the United States on the first day of other. That we have not mistaken the purport let the choice of a majority be respected by all the electors of and meaning of the manifesto in the signification ed, the position of President Lincoln on this or on January, 1863, shall be then, thenceforward, and and meaning of the manifesto in the signification January, 1863, shall be then, thenceforward, and and meaning of the manifesto in the signification forever free; and the Executive Government of the given to it not only by us, but by the great mass election; and thus each party may concede to the people what they have never yet enjoyed—the high privilege of freely choosing a President and Vice President of the United States." says, that "he writes always for the simple pur- United States, including the military and naval of the American people, we have, we trust, made that and nothing more"—then it cannot be difficult to comprehend what he meant to say in the
rescript on which this discussion turns. It is treedom of such perso s." On the following first may have been the ambiguities of his speech at after designating certain States and parts of States, the date on which he pledged himself to "recog- gistrar of Cambridge University.

nise and maintain" by the army and navy the freedom of all the persons whom he ordered and declared to be free on the 1st of January, 1863. To accept a peace embracing less than the territorial integrity of the whole Union would make him false to the Union; to accept a peace embracing less than the freedom of all the slaves covered by the emancipation edict would make him false to a pledge he had assumed towards those slaves in the eyes of the whole world.

President Lincoln can be released from the obligations he has assumed in this latter respect only by the expiration of his term of office. Those obligations attach to him personally; they do not attach to the courtry, and they would not attach proaching election, relieve him from the office he now holds. But, if the people should re-elect him, they will thereby make his pledges their own, for he has given the country distinctly to understand that while he "remains in his present position he will not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation." To this effect he wrote as follows in his last appared more distinction. to his successor, if the people should, at the ap- I am greatly obliged to you and to all who have come for pation proclamation." To this effect he wrote as follows in his last annual message to Congress, when explaining to that body the reason why he required the beneficiaries of his amnesty to swear to support his "proclamations in regard to slavery" to support his "proclamations in regard to slavery" but if we should wait, before collecting a tax, to adjust the taxes upon each man in exact proportion to the value of his property; but if we should wait, before collecting a tax, to adjust the taxes upon each man in exact proportion to the value of his property; but if we should wait, before collecting a tax, to adjust the taxes upon each man in exact proportion to the value of his property; but if we should wait, before collecting a tax, to adjust the taxes upon each man in exact proportion to the value of his property; but if we should wait, before collecting a tax, to adjust the taxes upon each man in exact proportion to the value of his property; but if we should wait, before collecting a tax, to adjust the taxes upon each man in exact proportion.

laws and proclamations were enacted and put forth for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion. To give them their fullest effect, there had to be a pleage for their maintenance. In my judgment they have uded, and will further aid, the cause for which they were intended. To now abandon them would be not only to relinquish a lever of power, but would also be a cruel and astounding breach of faith. I may add at this point that while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation; nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclay any of the acts of Congress.'

In the face of such a declaration, we confess it with some surprise that we find the distinguished editor of the New York Times (who, as the biographer of Mr. Lincoln, must be presumed to be familiar with his "record" on this subject) now contending that it would be competent for the President, in consistency with his declarations, to conbut that he would do so, should the occasion offer, in spite of the reiterated and solemn asseverations he has made to the contrary. "While I remain

and just as little service, when they undertake to olace him in an equivocal posture before the country as regards this subject. If it be true that he three cheers. is willing to renounce his pledges, let the fact be solemply avowed as the pledges were so assumed. If it be not true, let there be no attempt to palter with the people in a double sense by commending the President, as a candidate for re-election, to the support of "conservatives" on the ground that he is waging the war exclusively for the Union, and to the support of "radicals" on the ground that he has plighted his faith never to conclude a peace until he has destroyed the last vestige of slavery. In a canvass conducted on such grounds he will be sure to forfeit the support of both. Let those who approve the pledges he has made, and who believe that he will adhere to them, be free to the him their suffrages in the impending electoral contest. Let those who disapprove those pledges, and who For instance, Mr. Speaker Bullock, of the Massachu be equally free to vote for a President who, when he looks for the obligations which he is bound to fulfil, shall find them only in the Constitution and

Mr. Garrison, the Fditor of the "Liberator," (formerly an abolitionist paper, but now making abolitionism second ary to the support of the Administration,) argues as fol lows against the expediency of conferring the right of suffrage by Presidential mandate on emancipated slaves at the South. He save :

"If the freed blacks were admitted to the polls by Pre sidential fat, I do not see any permanent advantage, likely to be secured by it: for, submitted to as a necessity at the sutset, as soon as the State was organized and left to manage its own affairs, the white population, with their superior intelligence, wealth, and power, would us questionably after the franchise in accordance with their prejudices, and exclude those thus summarily brought to the

If Mr Lincoln should to morrow revoke "the procis mation of freedom," so called, we might expect to see Mr. Garrison advocating the propriety and wisdom of such a step on this wise : "If the blacks were declared free by Presidential flat, I do not see any permanent advantage likely to be secured by it: for, submitted to as a necessity at the outset, so soon as the Stat ) was reorganized and left to manage its own affairs, the white population, with their superior intelligence, wealth, and power, would unquestionably alter the status of the freedmen in accordnce with their prejudices, and remand to slavery those thus summarily brought into a condition of nominal lib-

AN ELECTORAL EXPEDIENT

The New York Tribune suggests the following expedi ent by which Republicans dissatisfied with the candidacy f Mr. Lincoln may give, with the least risk, a full expres ion to their feelings. It says:

"Many have declared themselves diseatisfied with Mr. Lincoln, and inclined to select a new candidate; to which end a Convention has been suggested, to meet at Buffalo, on the 22d of September. But to run two electoral tickets is to brave certain defeat; and this neither party can at ford. Let those Unionists who dahke Mr. Lipcoln hold their Convention; let them asme their candidates; but let there be but one electoral ticket on our side; and let the people severally vote their choice for President; and

A SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT.

From the Republican of August 18th.

About half-past two o'clock this afternoon the 164th Ohio regiment of one hundred days' men, whose term of service has expired, paid their respects to the President in front of the Executive Mansion. The regiment was drawn up n a solid body by their commander, Col. J. C. Lee, when the President mounted the stone parapet and stood behind the iron balugtrade, with the Colonel upon his left. The regiment presented arms, and, after a flourish by the band, Col. Lee said, "The President of the United States, fel low-soldiers!" The band played a strain of "Hail to the Chief," the soldiers grounded arms, and the Commanderin-Chief addressed them in a short but earnest and appropriate speech. He said :

\*Soldiers: You are about to return to your homes and your friends, after having, as I learn, performed in camp a comparatively short term of duty in this great contest

But if it be proper to require, as a test of admission to the political body, an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and to the Union under it, why also to the laws and proclamations in regard to slavery? Those laws and proclamations were enacted and not feet to the same purpose of the constitution of this great Books and proclamations were enacted and not feet to this great Books and proclamations were enacted and not feet to the same purposes of the constitution of this great Books and proclamations were enacted and not feet to the same purposes of the constitution of the c Those of this great R-public, not to let your minds be carried off for the from the great work we have before us.

This struggle is too large for you to be diverted from it

by any small matter. When you return to your homes, rise up to the height of a generation of men worthy of a free Government, and we will carry out the great work we have commenced. I return to you my sincere thanks, sol

Three cheers were given for the President, and he was saluted by the regiment, after which the march was taken up for the railroad depot.

ANOTHER SPEECH BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN

From the Republican of August 23d

The time of the 166th regiment Ohio hundred-day men having expired, they yesterday afternoon paid their respects to the President, who made them a speech in front of the Executive Mansion. The PRESIDENT ad-

dressed them briefly, saying ; clude a peace which should not embrace in its friends. For the service you have done in this great strugterms the emancipation of all the slaves to which his edict relates. And our surprise is increased when, to this theoretical view of the President's obligations, is added the assurance that it is not only competent for him to conclude such a peace, which we have enjoyed all our lives. I beg you to re member this, not merely for my sake, but for yours. living witness that any of your children may look to com-here as my father's child has. It is in order that each o he has made to the contrary. "While I remain here as my lather's child has. It is in order that each of in my present position," is his language, "I shall not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation,"

The proclamation is not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation,"

The proclamation is not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation have equal provileges in the reco of life with all its desirnable human aspirations—it is for this the struggle should that me may not loss our hirthurst. Not only for one, but for two or three years, the worth fighting for, to secure such an inestimable jewel."

The President having concluded, the soldiers gave him

THE MANIFESTO.

We showed on Saturday last, as we think our readers will admit, in the most incontrovertible manner, by the citations we made from Mr. Lincoln's pravious declarations that the terms of the late manifesto, prescribing "the abar donment of slavery" equally with "the integrity of the whole Union" as the conditions on which he would treat for peace, were but the legitimate and necessary culmination of the emancipation policy to which he has pledged his unswers ing adherence so long as he shall remain in his present postion. The attempt of the New York Times to explain away the inevitable force of the President's words, however now erless to charge the conviction of the people, may give, we respectfully submit to that journal, just umbrage to the large and earnest portion of the Republican party which sustain Mr. Lincoln's candidacy only because they under stand his recent manifesto, and the logical committals of do not wish to see them assumed by the country, setts House of Representatives, will be little grateful to the Times for its effort to call Mr. Lincoln's constant ad herence to his emancipation edict into question. Invited to address the literary societies of Williams College, in Massachusetts, on the occasion of the last commencement of that institution, Speaker Bullock said :

> " In the name of that right to NATIONAL UNITY we accept the necessity of the hour; and, perceiving the nucleus (i. e. slavery) around which all these elements of diversity and mischief have gathered at last, we will direct our policies of peace and of war to the end that it shall b removed forever from all connexion with the Government which it has contaminated and the nationality which it has put on the peril of its life. Nearly two years ago this policy was procounced by the President. Prior to that event the national spirit faltered and relucted. But the appearance of the first proclamation of treedom, while it chained the thrones of Europe to their neutrality, electrified and saved the heart of America. Her nation once beat to the instinct of courage and hope, and

" 'Suddenly imbued with holy grace, Like the transition of some watery In passing o'r the moon's refulgent disc, Glowed with new life "

The firm President adheres to it with no retracting steps o, the astonished vision of the wretched cabal of the Clifton House, his purpose, his promulgation shines forth in all the ratiance of the rainbow which sways only to take the rays of the suo and lives among those eternal thunders Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandon-ment of slavery! Be this our ritual and our liturgy. Do you tell me we cannot succeed under it ? I tell you we cannot succeed under any other. Let us take the decree, and with the old colors wrap it to our heart. Better this nationality should wander among the spirits of the lost Republics, and go through the ages of rustic music with the uncomplaining shade of John Brown, with not another victory on earth, if only it may die here within the pale of the favor of God, rather than it should sell its liberty, its honor, or its conscience to a rebel in arms, or to an enemy wearing the garb of a friend nearer home.

The reader will readily imagine the surprise with which meh supporters of Mr. Lincoln as Speaker Bullock will learn for the first time from our New York contemporary that the President did not mean by his manifesto what he seems to mean, and for meaning which they zealously support him.

ANTICIPATION OF PAYMENT OF INTEREST. The Secretary of the Treasury, it gives us real pleasure o state, has ordered the Treasurer and Assistant Treasurers of the United States to pay on demand the coupons in gold, for interest on the 10.40 bonds of the United States, due 1st of September, and on the 5 20 bonds of the United States due 1st of November proximo. This cannot but be gratifying to every one interested, and evidences the keen occerght, good judgment, and eminent ability which dis tinguish Mr. Fessenden in the high position he so well and ably occupies .- Union,

Brig. Gen. CULLUM, chief of staff of Gen. Halleck, has to Gen. Sherman's army, and is excone upon a mission to Gen. Spected to be absent a fortnight,

DESPATCHES FROM ADMIRAL FARRAGUT.

The following despatches, relating mainly to the surrender of Fort Gaines, in Mobile bay, have been received by the Secretary of the Navy :

FLAG-SHIP HARTFORD,

FLAG-SHIP HARTFORD,

West Gulf Blockading Squadron,

Mobile Bay, Angust 8, 1864.

SIR: I have the honor to inform the Department that
Fort Powell was evaquated on the night of the 5th intant. The rebels blew up much of the fort, but we took
all of the guns, and those of the best quality, a list of which
will be forwarded. We took some covered barges from
Fort Powell and Cedar Point, which do us good service as
a workshop.

a workshop.

The fleet ergineer and fleet psymaster came in the Stock-

lale, with iron, &c. for the repairs of our vessels.
On the afternoon of the 6th the Chickasaw went down and shelled Fort Gaines, and on the morning of the 7th I received a communication from Col Anderson, commanding the fort, offering to surrender to the fleet, asking the best conditions. I immediately sent for Gen. Granger, and in the evening had Col Anderson and Major Browns on board, and the agreement was signed by all parties. At 7 A. M., August 8, Fleet Captain Drayton, on the part of the navy, and Col. Meyer, on the part of the army, pro-eceded to the fort to carry out the stipulations of the agreement, and at 9 45 the fort surrendered and the stars and stripes were hoisted on the staff amid the cheers of

Euclosed herewith are copies of the letter, of Col. Auerson and the reply of Gen. Granger and mysel Very respectfully, your obedient aervant, D. G. FARRAGUT, Rear. Admiral.

Commanding W. G. B. Squadron. Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy.

HEADQUARTERS FORT GAINES, AUGUST 7, 1864.

To Admiral Farragut,
Commanding Naval Forces off Dauphin Island.
Feeling my mability to maintain my present position longer than you may see fit to open upon me with your fleet, and feeling also the uselessness of entailing upon ourselves further destruction of life, I have the honor to proselves further destruction of Fort Gaines, its carrison, stores. ose the surrender of Fort Gaines, its garrison, stores, &c. I trust to your magnanimity for obtaining honorable erms, which I respectfully request that you will transmit to me, and allow me sufficient time to consider them and return an answer. This communication will be handed you by Major W. R. Browns.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant, C. D. Anterson, Colonel Commending.

FLAGSHIP HARTFORD, MORDLE BAY.

Col. C. D. Anderson, Commanding Fort Gaines. SIR: In accordance with the proposal made in your letter of this morning for the surrender of Fort Games, I have to say that, after communication with Gen Granger, in command of our forces on Dauphin Island, the only

offers we can make are:

First. The unconditional surrender of yourself and the garrison at Fort Games, with all of the public property Second. The treatment which is in conformity with the

netom of the most civilized nations towards prisoners of Third. Private property, with the exception of arms, will be respected.

This communication will be handed you by Fleet Capt.

P. Drayton and Col. Meyer, of the U. S. Army, who faily inderstand the views of Gen. Granger and myself.

Very respectfully, your obedient servants,
D. G. FARRAGUT, Rear Admiral,
G. GRANGER, Maj. Gen. U. S. A.

THE KILLED AND WOUNDED.

FLAGSHIP HARTFORD,

Mobile B.y, August 8, 1864. SIR: In my despatch No. 335, written on the evening the engagement of the 5th instant, the casualties then eported were forty-one killed and eighty-eight wounded. dore detailed reports, since received, make the casu sities

lifty-two killed and one hundred and seventy wounded, viz: Kil ed. Wounded. Brooklyn ......11 Lackawana .... 4 Oneida ..... Ossipee ..... Prenmond .... 2 alightly. Jalena..... Octorors .....

nnebee ..... I forward herewith the reports of the Surgeon's of these essels, giving the names of the killed and wounded and the character of the wounds.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

D. G. FARRAGUT, Rear Admiral, Comd'g. W. G. B. Squadron Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy.

Separate reports from each vessel named in the above ist, and embracing the names of all the killed and wounded on board of each, have been transmitted to the Department by Admiral Farragut.

WASHINGTON NEWS DISPATCHED NORTH.

The official statement of the public debt on the 16th nstant shows the amount of outstanding to be \$1,849,-714 555, and the interest in both coin and lawful money \$76,000,000. The unpaid requisitions are \$83,500,000. and the amount in the Treasury over \$11,500,000. 'As contrasted with the official statement of the 19th of July, the public debt up to yesterday has increased \$53,500,000. THE PURSUIT OF THE TALLAHASSEE.

The first information of the depredations of the pirate Fallaha-see was received by the Navy Department on the 19th instant, after office hours, when Secretary Welles immediately ordered the following named vessels to forthwith start in pursuit, viz: the Juniata, Susquehanna, Eclus, Pontosuc, I umbarton, and Tristram Shandy; on the 13th the Moccasin, Aster, Yantic, R. R. Cuyler, and Grand Gulf; and on the 15th the Dacotah and San Jacinto. They all took different directions. These were all the teasels available in the navy. RETALIATION AT CHARLESTON.

In response to the action of the rebel authorities in sending six hundred Union prisoners to Charleston to be placed under fire, six hundred rebel officers are to be dispatched to that point in a few days. They will receive similar treatment to that bestowed upon the Union prisoners. The supply of prisoners on both sides is sufficient to keep up this sort of thing for any desired time.

THE AMNESTY PROCLAMATION.

The attention of the War Department has been called to the fact that maurgent enemies in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri have endeavored, fraudulectly and treacherously, to obtain the benefits of the President's amnesty, for the purpose of preserving their property from the penalty of their crimes, or acreening themselves from punishment for the commission of area, robbery, and murder. Accordingly an order has been issued to all commanders in the military service to prevent the improper administration of the oath to persons taking it f r any other than the purpose of restoring peace and establishing the national authority, as expressed in the terms of the proclamation, all the benefits of which and full protection re promised to those who voluntarily come forward and CAPT. WINSLOW'S STATEMENT.

Capt. Winslow, at the request of the Navy Department, has furnished a full statement of the fight of the Kearsarge with the Alabama His letter, dated in the English Channel, July 30th, mentions the fact that just previous to the encounter he had an interview with the Frence Admiral at Cherbourg, and assured him that in the event of an action the position of the ships should be so far from the shore that no question could be advanced about the line of jurisdiction. The night before boats were moving between the Alabama and Cherbourg, and in the morning strange men were seen stationed as captains of gunsamong them Lieut. Sinclair, who joined her at Cheroourg. The police prevented others from going on board. Capt. Winsiow reports that the yacht Dee hound, under the garb of friendship, was affording assistance to the Alabama.

Brevet Major Gen. JEFFERSON C. DAVIS has been as signed to the command of the Fourteenth Army Corps according to his brevet rank, vice Major Gen. Palmer relieved at his own request,